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AI OR THE CITY? JOSHUA 8. 12, 16

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BAER prints in both verses עיר *city* in the text (ketib) and עי *Ai* in the margin (kere), while Ginsburg has עיר without a marginal correction (hence עיר ketib u-kere). On 8. 13 Baer tells us that in Codex Reuchlinianus 2 there is a note, 'ע' פליג, *there is a division of opinion as to the reading* 'ע', and in the List of Differences between Occidentals and Orientals he adduces from the same codex the statement that the Occidentals write and read עיר twice in this verse (תרויהון רפסוק), while the Orientals write עיר but read עי. Baer adds the remark that the printed Masoretic note is inaccurate, for which reason Norzi was unable to straighten out the difficulty. The printed Masorah (end of volume IV in the editio princeps, Bamberg, 1524-5) has it, namely, that the difference between the two schools concerns not the two instances in verse 13 (תרויהון רפסוק), but two different verses (ב' פסוקין), i. e. verses 12 and 16. Norzi's note on verse 12 reads thus: 'The codices and the Masorahs vary. In some we find it written לעיר and read לעי, the author of כלי יקר (Samuel Luniado or Laniado) agreeing, while others write and read לעיר. The same variation obtains in verse 16. In the latter instance בעי is found so written and read in an ancient codex. The Targum reads עי in verse 12, while in verse 16 it has the doublet: "in the city, in Ai"; hence is found in verse 12 עי with no marginal variant, while in verse 16, finding עיר in the text and עי in the margin, it combined both in the

translation. Kīmhī on verse 16 explicitly states that עיר is the textual and עי the marginal reading, but he is silent on verse 12. In the Masorah Magna we find s.v. עי two conflicting notes: (1) עיר is the textual reading (against the margin עי) in verses 12 and 16; (2) עי is the reading in verses 9 and 11, but עיר in 12 and 13.' Norzi then quotes the statement of the Masorah Finalis concerning the difference between the two schools, adding that it is not clear which instance is referred to.

Ginsburg gives in the first volume of his *The Massorah compiled from Manuscripts*, p. 592, a List of the differences between Occidentals and Orientals in Joshua, which, according to the English volume, p. 415, is based, in addition to the printed material, on the following manuscripts: St. Petersburg Codex of A.D. 1009, Arund. Orient. 16, Add. 15,251, and Codex Merzbacher. All of these but the first, in which the item is altogether admitted, agree with the wording of the printed Masorah to the effect that the difference as to עיר and עי concerns two distinct verses. Moreover, Ginsburg found in Codex No. 1-3 of the Paris National Library explicit Masoretic notes on verses 12 and 16, according to which in both places עי is the marginal reading of the Orientals, while the Occidentals write and read עיר.

In his *Introduction to the Massoretico-critical Edition*, 208-10, the same scholar avers that as regards verse 13 Baer's avowal of a variation between the two schools is substantiated 'by no official Lists, MSS., Massorahs, or early editions'. 'Both the MSS. and the Lists which exhibit any variation at all, not only mark it on לעיר of the city in verse 12, but vary in their statements as to the nature of the difference and as to the school to which

it belongs. This will be seen from the following analysis of the Massorah Parva: (1) Orient. 2201, which is dated A.D. 1246, and Harley 1528, have in the text in 8. 12 לעיר *of the city*, and in the margin against it 'לעי ק' the *Keri* is *of Ai*. The same is the case in Harley 5710-11, where the Massorah Parva has against this verse לָקִי *the Resh is to be cancelled* = the *Keri* is 'לעי *of Ai*, thus treating it as an ordinary *Keri* of the Western school. (2) Arund. Orient. 16 and Add. 15,451, which are superb manuscripts, have no *Keri* at all, but simply remark against it in verse 12 ר' דמטע' *four times misleading*, which is the condemnatory appellation for *Sevirin*. Ginsburg proceeds with the evidence from the Lists (see above), and pointedly concludes: 'Having altered ב' פסוקין *two verses*, into תרויהון דפסוק *in both clauses of the verse*, Dr. Baer was obliged to palm it on verse 13, since it is the only verse in this section where לעיר *of the city* occurs twice.'

In volume III of Ginsburg's great compilation, p. 145, in the List of חלופים, i. e. of textual elements which must be guarded against levelling, we find:

מִים לְעִי בְּתוֹךְ הָעָם	קִרְמָאָה
מִים לְעִיר ס"ף	תְּנִינָא
מִים לְעִיר בְּתוֹךְ הָעֵמֶק	חֲלִיתָאָה

The ס"ף (= סוף פסוק, *end of the verse*) leaves no doubt that verse 12 is referred to in the middle instance. The same statement is found *ibid.*, p. 310 (from the Tzufut Kale Masorah), minus the identifying remark ס"ף. Accordingly, the reading לעיר *of the city* is presupposed in verse 12. To the same purport is the note against verse 12 in the printed Masorah Parva: בן כתיב וקרי מכה מס"ה: the reading in the editio princeps (see above) being לעיר (see Ginsburg,

Introduction, p. 210).¹ מסרה הנדולה, Masorah Magna, according to Elias Levita, *Massoreth ha-massoreth*, ed. Ginsburg, p. 249. מפֿה=מכה Frensdorff, *Massoretisches Wörterbuch*, p. 18 of the German, attempts no identification of the unusual formula. But כתיב וקרי is perfectly clear: write and read לעיר. In the Yemenite Masorah (Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, III, 68) the following statement may be read: מִיָּמִים לְעִיר וקרי בכל התיאון והירושלמיים וכ"כ במסורת כ"ד גדול מבחון שבן צ"ל קרי וכת[י]ב מכ"ה מס"ה יעו"ש ודלא בקצת דפוסים דכתי לעיר וקרי לעי גם החרנום לקרתא מוכיח דגרסי' בקרא לעיר וכן השרישו בספר יאיר נתיב שורש עיר. Apparently misled by the reference to the Targumic rendering לקרתא *of the city*, Ginsburg refers this note to verse 13, the rendering in our Targum editions in verse 12 being לעי (see Ginsburg, *Introduction*, p. 210); but the Yemenite Targum, ed. Praetorius, has there לקרתא, and it is obvious that the note refers to verse 12 (hence at the beginning לְעִיר is mispointed; point לעיר). Now this note says clearly that לעיר *of the city* is the reading (not only the writing) in all the codices (of Yemen) and in those of Jerusalem. The author goes on to quote the note in the printed Masorah Parva (see above); he repudiates those codices which have לעיר in the text and לעי in the margin, and concludes with a reference to the Targum and to the editio princeps of the Hebrew Concordance. The reading and pointing לעיר *of the city*, would thus seem to be substantiated as the approved, and certainly as the Western reading. As is well known, we in the West follow the

¹ [Since writing this, I have been able to inspect the *editio princeps* in the private library of the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia. The text reads לעיר. Accordingly, in the Yemenite Masorah the pointing is correct, as far as it goes. Nevertheless it remains true that the author of that Masorah rejects the kere לעי! I must admit that the reading (pointing) in Jacob ben Haim's text and the accompanying masoretic note are a puzzle.]

Palestinian school of Masoretes, and Kimḥi's silence in verse 12 (see above) may be tantamount to supporting לעיר *of the city*.

It is to be regretted that the note in Codex Reuchlinianus 2 cannot be verified at the present moment and at this distance. How sorely we are indeed in need of photographic reproductions of important biblical manuscripts, whether in the original or in translation, in the securing of which the universities and colleges of this country should be willing to co-operate! Nevertheless, I am loth to go to the length of doubting Baer's veracity, as Ginsburg so unceremoniously does. The Targum, as has been observed, goes normally with the Orientals; accordingly, the reading לעיר in verse 12 might be Oriental. Once we resort to an ancient version as a fulcrum of the received text, we must needs consult all. The Vulgate has 'ex occidentali parte eiusdem civitatis'; that may be a free paraphrase by the translator, or his Hebrew had לעיר. Most likely, however, Jerome followed Symmachus, who, on the authority of a gloss in the Syrohexaplaris (ed. Lagarde), wrote מִן הַצִּדְדִּים הַמַּזְרָגִים. Symmachus apparently read לעיר. Conversely, Origen supports the reading לעי. In the opening pages of the New Series of this REVIEW (p. 20 f.) I pointed out how for the purposes of establishing what is the Masoretic text recourse must be had to Origen's Hexapla, and in vol. III, pp. 323 ff., I gave an illustration for Joshua 7. 17. Now another example presents itself. How the original Greek translator has dealt with chapter 8 (as with other portions of the book), removing incongruities arising out of the combination of double accounts in the Hebrew, and accomplishing it, if needs be, by violent condensation, has been pointed out by Wellhausen (*Composition*,

1889, p. 126). Verses 11 b, 12, 13 are reduced in the Septuagint to the small compass: ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν καὶ τὰ ἔνεδρα τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. Origen, as was his wont, retained this complex, at the same time marking it with the obelus as something unwarranted by the Hebrew; whereupon he introduced *sub asterisco* a fresh translation of the verses in question which reads as follows: καὶ παρενέβαλον ἀπὸ βορρᾶ τῆς Γαὶ καὶ ἡ κοιλὰς ἀνάμεσον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Γαὶ 12 καὶ ἔλαβεν ὡς πέντε χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἔνεδρον ἀνάμεσον τῆς Βηθαὺν καὶ τῆς Γαὶ θάλασσαν τῆς Γαὶ 13 καὶ ἔταξαν ὁ λαὸς τὴν πᾶσαν παρεμβολὴν ἣ ἦν ἀπὸ βορρᾶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα αὐτοῦ θάλασσαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἰησοῦς τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς κοιλάδος. Verses 15 b, 16 a, omitted in the Septuagint, were likewise supplied by Origen *sub asterisco*: καὶ ἔφυγον ὁδὸν τῆς ἐρήμου 16 καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τῆς Γαὶ τοῦ διῶξαι ὀπίσω αὐτῶν. Here again Origen, or rather his source (probably Theodotion), supports the reading כַּעֲלֵ. All, however, that we really may say is this, that the reading עַל in verse 12, attributed by certain authorities to the Orientals, was current in the third and second centuries. It is interesting to note that in the same verse Origen again ranges himself on the side of the Orientals (ketib) with his Βηθαὺν און בית אא against בֵּית אא of the Occidentals (see the official Lists referred to above). In 19. 38 we have another instance where Origen agrees with the Oriental ketib: ωραμ חורם against חרם, the Oriental kere which is the textual reading of the Occidentals. Elsewhere Origen supports the Occidental text; in a few instances the rendering is too inexact to admit of conclusive evidence. All that can be said is that the differences between the two schools ascend to ancient times, and testify to a fluctuation

of the text in the centuries antecedent to the split between Orientals and Occidentals. The similarity of עיר and עי accounts for the confusion. In 15. 9 Theodotion misread העיר into עי; on the other hand, the Septuagint read העי for עי 7. 3; 8. 18, 28. Just as in the Hebrew עיר and עי were liable to confusion, so in the Greek γαι and γη(ν) were interchanged. Thus we find γαι for γην 2. 1 (the sigla are those in my forthcoming edition of the Greek Joshua) rroscaa₂; 7. 2 B C E S adj^{suprascrip}k (cf. γαι with accus. ending f, and the doublet την γην γαι n); conversely γην for γαι 7. 2 sec lptiz (cf. the doublet γην γαι A); γης for γαι 8. 16 E n M^{mg} n^{mg}. Greek γαι is also the transliteration of Hebrew (א)ני; cf. Josh. 18. 16, where the Syrohexaplaris writes ܐܢܝ; it is quite plausible that Greek γης for Hebrew עמק 15. 8 is an error for γαι representing the synonymous נ. Still a further confusion of עיר and עי may be cited from the Greek in 2 Chron. 32. 6, where τῆς φαραγγος (Lucian alone reverts to the Hebrew τῆς πολέως) is a translation of τῆς γαι=העי for העיר, γαι being misconceived as the equivalent of נ. We shall certainly not burden the original translator with ascribing a gate to a ravine! On the other hand, he was not sagacious enough to realize that עי in his Hebrew copy was a blunder for עיר. In the language of the author of the *Analekten zur Textkritik des Alten Testaments*, the mark of abbreviation had faded away. Conversely, the appearance of a pen-scratch resembling a mark of abbreviation has led to the expansion of עי to עיר. Where, as in chapter 8 of Joshua, either reading made sense, the confusion was a natural one. The 'tradition which our fathers have handed down to us' is, alas, often but a scribe's subjective reasoning coupled with a blurred vision.